1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *reins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «veins», and ighs, or «bone», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated 178 and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of 621 the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with 595 multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The 369 urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the 593 man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society 571 was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- 602 ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is 178 guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy 571 overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into 792

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref on3

[Village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin]

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
● 595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers

1:Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif 1920's
[Village of Ubad 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.